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General William L. Sibert does not forget that this form of chemical warfare has always been viewed with horror and condemned as barbarous. Indeed, in The Hague conferences special conventions were adopted planning for the abolition of that type of warfare; but General Sibert says:

"As soon as the scientific world developed means of protecting the soldier against it, and the various advantages, strategical and tactical, of its use became known, military men began to look upon it as a means of warfare that had come to stay and must be reckoned with."

General Sibert is right. In the future wars, if wars there are to be, chemists will kill their millions. The war chemists of all the nations are getting ready. Not only field guns, but all forms of aircraft will make it possible to asphyxiate whole communities, armies, States. General Sibert assured us that the gas manufactured by the American chemists just before the end of the war would have been far more deadly than the German gas. Of course, improvements in this means of destruction are not confined to any one nation. Another world war will be as much more hideous and destructive than the war of 1914-18 as that was more devastating than any of its predecessors.

But gas is not the only fearsome substitute for the familiar bullet of other days. Submarine and supermarine craft bid fair to put present designs of surface steaming vessels out of commission in the not-distant future. The armed hydroplane, carrried on specially constructed vessels, will form part of the equipment of the armed fleets built on old lines, and will do the scouting for the fleet and some of its guerrilla fighting. Aëroplane fleets from the land will sally forth to bomb all craft that dare to keep on the surface. In short, as Admiral Fisher, of the British Navy, the modern Nelson, pointed out not long before his recent death, the whole naval policy of Great Britain must be adjusted to a new technique, and assets which she formerly derived from her isolated position no longer exist. But the doom of the dreadnaught and cruiser is not only written in the swift evolution of the air-traversing fighting craft. the submarine of the type perfected during the present war recent inventors have added a submarine "tank" that will crawl up river beds and along the shores of lakes and the coasts of oceans and emerge where least desired, first bombing from below any enemy craft, and then taking to land and using the usual "tank tactics." The French admit having such a new weapon.

Thus does the "war against war" go on. Science applied both blesses and curses mankind. Here you see swords being beaten into plowshares; there you see spears

being transformed into poison-gas containers. The sun of peace shines here; a mile away the hail of war falls in torrents. God is in his world; yes, but so is the Devil. Monism faced by the actual facts of history is a pitiable thing. The older dualism was truer to facts, and the record of applied science in connection with war proves it.

## EMBARRASSING THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

ROM EUROPEANS, nearer the scenes of continental readjustment than we, the evidence accumulates that the alliance which imposed the Treaty of Versailles is increasingly undergoing a gradual dissolution. Ever since President Wilson's second trip to France, our own opinion has been, to use the language of Charles E. Hughes, that the League of Nations as proposed out of Paris "has a bad heart." The insurmountable difficulties confronting such a proposed alliance, savoring of a superstate, are appearing now from many quarters.

An embarrassment of an unexpected sort appears just now from "The Little Entente," made up of Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, Jugo-Slavia, Roumania, and later, perhaps, of Greece, Bulgaria, and Poland. Dr. Benes, the Czech foreign secretary, has been able to establish what appears to be an acceptable program for this group. The plan proposes a neutrality toward Bolshevik Russia, and a guarantee of protection against the violation of their neutrality by any ambitions of Hungary. It appears that the Little Entente is opposed to the newly established French-Magyar Danubian Federation. In the presence of such a situation one wonders what position France can take; and naturally inquires. What is to become of the Supreme Council in the premises? What are the Great Powers going to say? What of the League? Still more embarrassing, perhaps, the Roumanian foreign secretary has suggested that the Little Entente should be given a seat on the Executive of the League of Nations.

Another embarrassing situation for the League of Nations lies in what seems to be the fact, namely, that France has just completed a treaty with Belgium, a treaty referred to by the *Manchester Guardian* as of "the most intimate kind." The treaty is reported to be a military alliance, under the terms of which each country binds itself to come to the assistance of the other when attacked. Under the circumstances, that seems a natural step; but what of the League? Under the terms of the Covenant of the League of Nations, of which both France and Belgium are members, this treaty must be communicated to the League and published.

The treaty has not been so communicated; and, probably, it never will be so communicated. Commenting upon this situation, the editorial writer of the Manchester Guardian, under date of September 17, pertinently remarks: "A more flagrant breach of the plain provisions of the Covenant it is difficult to imagine. It is a deadly blow to the League." This from a paper which views the League as the essential foundation of any European peace and the corner-stone of any tolerable system of European reconstruction. As the writer points out, "This is, in truth, a test case." If this treaty is not to be submitted to the League of Nations, and through it published to the world, no treaty need be submitted or published. Article XVIII of the Covenant of the League makes this apparent beyond question. Let us recall the language of the article: "Every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretariat, and shall as soon as possible be published by it. No such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered." That a treaty of such great political and military importance is not to be submitted to the League is the most serious blow which that organization could receive. An embarrassment indeed.

We are pleased to reprint the following editorial note from the *Christian Science Monitor* under date of September 21:

"A certain small town in England was recently faced with a problem. It had subscribed during the war with the utmost energy to war loans. It had sent many men to the front and in every way done its bit. The other day it was asked to erect a war memorial in its midst. The promoters of the scheme, with the utmost confidence, presented plans for the erection of what might be described as a 'suitable monument,' and invited subscriptions. The response was so utterly inadequate that, in the end, such subscriptions as had been sent in were returned and the scheme was abandoned. Now, few would be inclined to doubt this little town's patriotism, fewer still its gratitude. What happened was very simple. In common with a great many other little towns, in its heart of hearts it did not want any memorial of the war, and it said so. That was all."

I is with sorrow that we record the death in New York, August 19, of Alpheus Henry Snow, authority on international law and one of our most valued contributors.

Mr. Snow was a native of New Hampshire, receiving his education in Trinity College and in Yale and Harvard Universities. Besides many articles on political science, he was author of the work entitled "The Administration of Dependencies"; also, "The Question of Aborigines in the Law and Practice of Nations." He was for some time a lecturer on Colonial Government in George Washington University. He was delegate to the International Conference of Insurance at The Hague in 1910. He was a member of the Executive Council of the American Society of International Law. Every scholar interested in international problems will miss the thoughtful and analytical contributions of this conscientious, painstaking thinker, who spent his strength unsparingly for the cause of justice.

Is the Covenant of the League of Nations a straightjacket? We are in receipt of a letter from London which reads:

"Sometimes the League of Nations is represented as a

straight-jacket.

"This it most emphatically is not. The process of amendment has already set in with important changes offered by Norway, Sweden, and Denmark for consideration by the November Assembly meeting and aimed toward the increase of power of the small States. There is every reason to think the League Covenant will be as frequently changed as was the American Constitution.

"Its greatest omission, namely, the failure to work out details of the judicial settlement of disputes, is being filled in by the World Court project adopted by The Hague committee, of which Mr. Elihu Root was a member. Similarly, it is equally possible that the greatest source of attack, namely, Article 10, might be amended or interpreted by the nations which gave the Covenant validity."

We are of the opinion that, as far as the United States is concerned, the people of this country will speak upon this matter authoritatively Tuesday, November 2.

IGHT OR WRONG, our people will not live with A those of a physically different race except on the basis of that race's inferiority." These are the words of an eminent California journalist and political "liberal" in a recent number of the New Republic. The Caucasian in the South says the same thing about the Negro; the British the same thing about the Indian or the South African Negro; and Europe, and to some extent the United States also, seems increasingly to take similar view of the Jew. This California journalist and Liberal draws the moral from his thesis that the nation must put a stop to further immigration from Japan to the United States. Those who are here now can be cared for and assimilated in due time; but further infiltration will give the nation another "race problem" and provoke ultimate war with Japan, since she is in a position to assert her equality of status with nations of other dominant race. She asked for this equality at the Paris Peace Conference, and it was refused. She

will ask for it again. To any student of the causes of war the quoted sentence with which we begin this comment is doubly significant. Neither humanitarianism, democracy, nor Christianity can accept a permanent policy of race exclusion based on physical differences merely. One after another the dominant races of the past have gone to wreck on an assumption of superiority based on external variations. They might have survived in trying to find internal unities. Anyhow, it would seem worth while to apply our minds to trying out some such method.

Sane Protestants are now admitting that time has proved the inherent limitations of a protesting, destructive policy that lacks constructive and unifying power on some higher plane than mere dissent. A similar note is being struck now by persons who themselves have been "conscientious objectors," but who now are saying that "conscientious affirmation" is the need of the hour. Several of the speakers at the impressive Friends' Conference in London struck this note.

Y ou sometimes have to go abroad to find that which in theory would more inevitably be found at home. Thus the Friends' Conference in London has brought together a more representative gathering of the Quakers of the United States than ever assembled on the west side of the Atlantic.

Possibly the most striking illustration of the growth of a group spirit transcending all previous national demarcations is to be found in the ambitious plan of Spain's gypsy chief, Vargas. He is trying to induce the scattered wanderers of the gypsy clan to quit their migrations, settle down in a given area, formulate and operate their own code of laws, and to quit thinking of themselves as Spanish or British or American gypsies, and to become "mere" gypsies. Vargas may not live to see his dream come true, but his children may. The fact to be noted is that he argues for a unifying trend that implies less emphasis on place of birth and minor characteristics of dress and language. Would that there were a genius of the George Borrow rank to follow and describe the effect of the appeal.

How inclusive yet simple the women are when they come to formulate a platform for their action in world affairs, political or social. At the recent International Council held in Christiana, Norway, they did not tangle themselves up with any "isms," or join any alliance, or bow down before any league. They simply said.

"We, women of all nations, sincerely believing that the best good of humanity will be advanced by greater unity of thought, sympathy, and purpose, and that an organized movement of women will best conserve the highest good of the family and of the State, do hereby band ourselves in a confederation of workers to further the application of the Golden Rule to society, custom, and law."

So many men today teach and practice the Leaden Rule that it is not without comfort to see that the Golden Rule has a few remaining adherents.

THERE OIL deposits are, there statesmen of a commercial type gather today to get possession of the "key" fuel of the hour and of tomorrow. But all phases of oil distribution are not as grim as the processes of its acquisition. We have long known of the uses to which the Chinese peasantry and urban dwellers have put the tin cans that the Standard Oil Company's agents have sent throughout the empire with petroleum for the illumination of the homes and shops of the people. Many of these substitutions have been comical; but we have not heard before of the disciples of Confucius using the tin cans for roofing of their temples. In Salonica, however, the Mohammedans have been using the "containers" to replate the surface of their rotting mosque minarets. Now when the call to prayer goes forth, it not only summons the faithful to think of Allah, but also to remember the generosity of the managers of the Red Cross garages.

THE IRISH question is not one for official America. ■ That is the position taken by Warren G. Harding, Republican Presidential nominee. Mr. Harding is right. It is not necessary to remind our government of the suggestion from Lord Salisbury to President Lincoln during the dark days of the Civil War. When the illustrious prime minister proposed to mediate between the North and the South, Mr. Lincoln reminded the distinguished statesmen that the war in America was a war of the United States. From this distance it would seem that the first thing is for the Irish people to agree among themselves, and then for Britain and Ireland to compose their difficulties, and all this without interference by our government. Surely, if the problem be too big for the League of Nations, on the spot, it would seem ordinary sense for us to mind our own business. at least until both parties to the dispute ask our advice.

I N The Nation of September 18 one Thomas Reed Powell essays a review of the three volumes published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, volumes entitled "Judicial Settlement of Con-

troversies Between States of the American Union." The reviewer grants that the choice before the world in 1919 finds something of a parallel in that between the thirteen States in 1787. He grants that the material in these volumes "covers the American experience of judicial settlement of quarrels between States." He grants that "those who have occasion to read them or to refer to the cases which have passed on disputes between the States will find it convenient to have the material accessible in two big books." He also grants that "some few scholars may be saved a little physical effort by Dr. Scott's compilation." He might have added, had he thought for a moment of the international lawyers in foreign lands, that the volumes will be of no little service abroad. Granting these things would seem to acknowledge that the purposes of the editor and of the Endowment had been somewhat achieved. But the reviewer acknowledges nothing of the kind. His economic soul is hurt by "the wanton waste of money which this unexpurgated copying involves." His sense of order objects that in these volumes "the only order is the order of time." His long and successful career as an editor—he must have had that—leads him to cry out that there are other decisions which should be included "in any picture that professes to paint the Supreme Court as a model for a world court." Furthermore, too large though the volumes are, there should have been included an account of the powers possessed by Congress, also "a potent force in keeping the States from each other's throats."

That certainly is brave reviewing, with just enough of learning to think of things left out. The irritable but learned reviewer closes his caustic utterances by paying his tempermental respects to the editor of the volume in these discriminating words: "He would have done better had he done nothing." Thus wags the world for a helping gentleman with his eyes severe, filled with his wise saws and modern instances; but let not "satire be our song."

THE UNTIMELY death of Dr. George Nasymth, due to typhoid fever, in Geneva, Switzerland, September 20, removes another sometime contributor to the columns of this magazine. Dr. Nasmyth was born in Cleveland. He was graduated from Cornell University in 1906, where for the next four years he was instructor in physics. Following that he studied in universities in Germany, where he became interested in the international students' movement. He became president of Corda Fratres, the name usually given to the international federation of students. Dr. Nasmyth was a member of the Society of Friends.

The war against war continues. It is a campaign peculiar to no mere group of idealistic and puling pacifists. Warriors themselves, real warriors, are gathering up their forces unto the overthrow of the arch enemy. A short time ago a conference of ex-service men from the countries of Europe was held at Geneva, Switzerland. Ex-service men organized in France, Germany, Italy, Russia, Austria, Belgium, Britain, and a number of other countries sent delegates. The purpose of the convention was to formulate some plans "whereby the ex-service men of all countries can combine in stamping out the war spirit and in preventing future wars." The British delegation, representing the national union of ex-service men, urged that the affiliated ex-service organizations everywhere shall co-operate—

- "(1) In spréading anti-militarism and anti-war propaganda in all countries, especially amongst the children.
- "(2) In insisting that no treaties or international agreements of any sort shall be regarded as binding unless they have been published to and ratified by the peoples concerned.
- "(3) In urging upon the organized workers of all countries the necessity of constructing, at once, some machinery for insuring an international general strike whenever there seems to be an imminent danger of war.
- "(4) In supporting the workers of the world in their efforts to destroy the capitalist system, which today is the ultimate cause of war.
- "(5) In striving to bring about the cancellation of the Treaty of Versailles.

"The first and last of these items are the ones with which the ex-service men, as such, are chiefly concerned."

Commenting upon this program Mr. A. Ernest Mander, General Secretary of the National Union of ex-Service Men, says:

"It is probable that even the militarists have given up all hope of ever re-creating in the present generation the illusions of the 'honor and glory' of war. Yet their system depends upon these illusions, for wars cannot be made unless a large number of people can be hypnotized by the 'glamour' of warfare. So today we find that those who wish to re-create the war spirit are concentrating their efforts upon the children.

"But the ex-soldiers of Europe can defeat them. They can teach the children what war really is. They can expose to the children, as no one else can, the horrible, sordid, revolting realities of the most degrading and bestial business in the world.

"If every ex-soldier would tell his own children the truth, the *whole* truth, about war, the war spirit would be stamped out forever.

"We want every ex-service man in Europe to take a solemn vow that he will set himself to do this. And we urge all the ex-service men of Britain to join those who are already organized in the international ex-service men's movement to end war."